3: Barrett E-5 (1908-1909)1925
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special racks are built above the fire-box, where strips of meat, or, if the animals or birds are small, the entire bodies, are placed to dry and smoke. Sometimes there are as many as three of these racks, one above another, each covering the same amount of space as the fire-box itself. Considerable time is necessary for drying meat in this way, and, when once dried, it must be kept either on the racks or near the fire in order to prevent molding. For drying fish there usually is employed the upper half of a large earthenware jar, which is turned down over the fire and the fish laid across the opening upon green sticks. Being thus close to the fire, a shorter time is sufficient to dry and smoke the fish, but when thus cured they also must be kept on the racks above or elsewhere near the fire-box in order to keep them from molding. A few vegetal products, especially medicinal herbs, are dried in a similar manner, as likewise are two vegetal foods. The inner covering of the tagua or ivory nut, which, when dried and then roasted upon the coals, has an excellent flavor, is used as food to a slight extent. Green plantain is cut crosswise into thin sections and dried thoroughly in the sun, when possible, or over the fire when necessary. It is then ground to powder and mixed with water into a thin gruel, which is used as food for babies when the mother is ill or for other reasons is unable to provide a proper supply of milk.

Boiling is employed also in the preparation of certain vegetal foods in cane juice. While practically all the product of the cane-field is used in making rum, some syrup and sweets are occasionally prepared. Yuca and

blood and die. The father is under no food restriction. 846
The infant is given the breast very shortly after birth 853
and is permitted to drink the colostrum /lɨ̆pi/: /lɨ̆-/
'clear' /pi/ 'water' 'liquid.' For the first month,
the child is given only the breast. He is fed "on de-
mand" providing it is convenient to the mother; for
example, if the infant is being held at the time he
wishes to be nursed, he is indulged. If, however, the
child should be crying while his mother is engaged in
some task that requires standing or the use of both
hands, his cries are ignored. Also, if the mother is
busy in another part of the room, the infant is like-
wise required to wait for the fulfillment of his needs.

By the end of the second month the mother may 846
do some light work in the monte. The infant is never [854]
taken along when the mother goes to work outside; in-
stead, he is left in the care of a sibling or older
female relative. The child is fed hulada which is 853
prepared from crushed, dried, green plantain, sugar, [262]
and water. If a lactating woman is present, she may
give the infant her breast. The child may be nursed 862
for three years unless he is usurped from the breast

by a new sibling. Weaning is gradual; however, the child is also told that an animal will come to eat him if he continues to suck which frightens him and hastens his loss of interest in the breast. From about the age of four months he is given supplementary foods and by the age of three years he eats everything. Women who are unable to nurse apply a poultice to their breasts. This poultice is made of lechera, a weed with a milky sap; this is done in the vain hope of stimulating lactation. The neighboring Negro women wean their infants at one year, and when opportunity affords, they chide the Cayapa women about their protracted nursing. This is beginning to have some effect, and a few women now wean their children by one year.

When a woman dies in childbirth, the child may be given to another woman who is lactating. Some feel that "the child dies anyway as the spirit of the dead mother will kill it." On the other hand, the infant can be taken directly to the ceremonial center where earth from the mother's grave is thrown at it at the time of her burial. If this ritual is practiced, two men stand on opposite sides of the grave passing the infant back and forth five or six times. This, it is

said, insures that the infant will live. Following this procedure, the neonate is transferred to the care of a lactating woman. This mother surrogate is paid for her services by the child's father. Eventually, when the child can speak, he is returned to his father.

Birth Control. Induced abortions are unknown, according to all informants, and this information is very likely reliable because bastards /išui-/ are first delivered, and then are usually killed. Similarly, there does not seem to be any knowledge of birth control devices nor of the practice of coitus interruptus. In marked contrast to the Negroes of the area whose children line up like stepping-stones, there is often a two- to four-year break between living children for the Cayapa. In some cases this difference is accounted for by the high infant mortality rate; in other cases, it is explained by lower fertility; in still other cases the lower sex drive may be the causative factor. We shall discuss the latter premise in the chapter dealing with personality factors. In any event, the Cayapa recognize their weakness in numbers

4:Altschuler E-5 (1959-1960) 1965
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childless and desire a son or daughter; in other cases the relatives may need extra help on the land. Sometimes the child stays permanently with his kin, returning to his parents for brief periods when requested to do so. In these instances the parent-child relationship is always retained but the child may lose his parental inheritance; however, he presumably has a claim for his patrimony from the estate of the relative with whom he has lived and worked. This will be discussed in greater detail in the legal material that concerns land and its sale or inheritance.

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Childhood. During Cayapa infancy and early childhood the children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training well before the zonal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely as illustrated in the following excerpt from the writer's notes:

> . . . Augustin's wife was sitting on the floor by the marimba, nursing her child (two months) the older boy is sitting next to her and she seems to be taking special pains with the older boy (four years). She kept her right arm around him, stroking his head while the infant nursed . . . suddenly this picture of maternal love and affection changed radically. The infant

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had defecated while nursing and the mother reacted explosively. She shouted at the infant, forcibly removed it from the breast, held it at arms length and shook it back and forth, screaming that the child was bad. Not a sound escaped from the infant, as its head bobbed back and forth. As the mother regained her composure and began to clean the child, it began to howl. In a few minutes it was cleaned . . . she now gave the breast to the infant, which it seized with a frantic intensity . . . (Altschuler 1960: field notes).

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Many Cayapa women are undoubtedly fairly matter-of-fact about their infants' excretions but, without being able to count cases, my impression is that the general attitude toward uncontrolled elimination is in the direction of the cited example; that is, the mother or surrogate, when required to clean the child, displays decidedly negative feelings (if only in postural stance) that are clearly communicated to the infant. Every Cayapa house has a causeway about five feet above the ground, which is about three feet wide and perhaps thirty to forty feet long, that runs from the cooking area in the rear out into the semicleared area behind. Adult males and boys walk out to edge of the causeway to urinate. A small hole, placed not very far from the house, is used by the women and girls. Adults and toilet-trained

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homoerotic play is evident during fiestas and, because of the low male sex drive, may be the substitute.

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During Cayapa infancy and early childhood, children are subjected to extremely harsh sphincter training long before the zonal musculature is mature enough for voluntary control. At the same time, they are permitted to nurse freely. The coincidence of the harsh toilet training and the availability of the breast leads to an intensification of oral gratification and a positive psychosexual fixation at this stage. We have already described the toilet training of the Cayapa infant and child, and discussed the extraordinarily negative reaction to the sight of feces on the part of adolescents. The fact that the child is often permitted almost immediately to suck the nipple after having gone through a truly frightening experience involving defecation as described above, structures the peculiarly poignant oral fixation of the Cayapa infant and gives a heightened intensity. The oral fixation derived from anal frustration at such a very early period, is the psychological equivalent of oral frustration and is later intensified by the weaning practices. Weaning is accomplished by

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